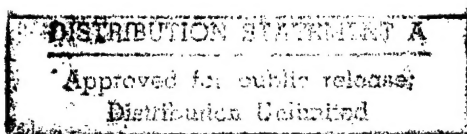


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THE ALL-UNION CENSUS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR
ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES

- USSR -

by V. V. Bondarenko and V. I. Naulko

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THE ALL-UNION CENSUS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE
FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES

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By decision of the Council of Ministers USSR an All-Union Census of the population was conducted throughout the Soviet Union in January 1959. This census is of great importance to the State and has political and agricultural significance. Census data on the enumeration of the entire USSR and of each individual Soviet republic concerning the distribution and composition of the population and its cultural level will present a clear depiction of the life of our vast country.

The totals of the 1959 population census will be valuable material for scientific research in devising the plans for the further development of the economics and culture of socialistic society on the way of the gradual transition from socialism to communism. The demographic, social, national, cultural and occupational-production characteristics of the population of the USSR will vividly describe the tremendous superiority of flourishing socialism over the decaying old capitalist world.

Twenty years ago - in January 1939 - the last All-Union census was taken of the population of the USSR, which showed the tremendous achievements of the Soviet people as a result of the victory of socialism. During the time which has passed since the last census, tremendous new changes have occurred. The Soviet people, solidified by the Communist Party, achieved a world-wide historical victory over German fascism, rapidly renovated their ruined economy and attained grandiose successes in the development of production.

science and culture. While in 1957 industrial production in all the capitalist countries rose approximately by 62 percent over 1948, in the Soviet Union industrial production rose 3.3 times.

At the present time the Soviet people are successfully implementing the plans for Communist construction as outlined by the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they are performing the necessary tasks - in a historically short time not only to overtake but also to surpass the most developed capitalist countries with respect to the production of consumer goods. Abreast with the rapid development of industry, significant success has been achieved in the rapid rise of agriculture and the further entrenchment of the kolkhoz system. All branches of the socialist economy are being developed on a strong base of technical progress.

The Communist Party is using efficient methods with the aim of achieving the most effective results in the continuous elevation of the welfare of the workers of the country. The preoccupation of the Party with providing a prosperous and cultural life for the Soviet individual, the creating of a sufficiency of consumer products, clothing, and the full satisfaction of housing needs have yielded wonderful results. The workers of our country are yearly dressing better, eating better, living better and are assured that the welfare of the Soviet people will continue to be raised even more rapidly.

Along with its preoccupation for better satisfying the needs of the individual consumption of the workers, the Communist Party is effecting an entire system of measures concerning the improvement of the forms of public service. To serve the workers there has been developed a wide network of health resorts, rest homes, cultural-educational institutions, etc. Health protection is being improved annually, and in urban and rural areas the network and children's nurseries and kindergartens is being systematically expanded.

The full-blooded socialist life of the Soviet individual finds its distinct reflection in indices of demographic phenomena. The general mortality rate in the USSR

is much lower than in Britain, West Germany, the United States, and France, and the Soviet Union has a significantly greater birthrate than these countries. In 1957, as compared with 1913, mortality in the USSR decreased more than fourfold while infant mortality decreased more than sixfold. The average life span of the individual in the Soviet Union, in comparison with the pre-revolutionary period, was more than doubled - from 32 to 67 years of age. The indices of the natural growth of the population of the USSR are now considerably higher than in a great majority of the capitalist countries. During the past two decades the size of the population of the Soviet Union has grown tremendously and is now over 200 million. During the years of the Fifth Five-Year Plan alone the growth of population in our country was 16.3 million persons, which is greater than the total population of such countries as Norway, Sweden and Finland combined.

The vast development of socialist industry conditioned the creation of new large industrial and cultural centers and caused a significant growth in urban populations. From 1939 to 1957, a total of 419 new cities were created in the USSR, while the number of urban-type settlements grew to 1,188 during this period. The urban population in April 1956 was 87 million as compared to 60.6 million in 1940.

The Soviet Union is demonstrating before the entire world its tremendous achievements in raising the cultural level of the national masses. Today in our country every fourth citizen is studying. In the 1956/1957 school year in the USSR over 50 million persons, or one-fourth of the entire population, were pursuing their education in various fields. The measures taken by the Party and government to create a tremendous network of Soviet technical, agricultural, medical, pedagogical, and other higher educational institutions have produced plentiful results. There are now over 800 thousand engineers working in the socialist economy of the country - twice as many as in the United States. According to data of the population census in 1897, tsarist Russia had only four thousand engineers. While, according to the data of that same census, tsarist Russia had altogether only 79 thousand teachers and about 14 thou-

sand civilian doctors, the Soviet Union now enumerates about 350 thousand doctors (not counting dentists) and over one million 800 thousand teachers.

Data of the new All-Union Census of the population will show the changes in the composition of social groups of the Soviet people and will give a profound description of the development of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and Soviet intelligentsia. The census data will illustrate the changes in the social distribution of work, especially the changes in the territorial distribution of work. Of definite interest will be census data on Soviet women and Soviet youth. The totals of the population census will indicate the growth of national cadres of the labor class and intelligentsia in the Union and Autonomous Republics, which has been assured by the continuous realization of Lenin's national policy by our Party.

The census materials will show the following important aspects of the development of the Soviet village: a further strengthening of the kolkhoz system, the results of the increased technical equipment in agriculture which is changing the character of the work, the occupational-productive composition and cultural level of the peasantry. At the present time an ever increasing number of rural workers, just as in industry, is shifting from low-productive manual labor to operating machines and mechanisms. Many new trades have emerged in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The Soviet rural area now has numerous qualified technical cadres and the rural population also possesses a significant intelligentsia stratum.

The population census data will permit a deeper study of labor resources in the various regions of the country and the present non-utilization of their reserves. The population census indices on age and sex and data on the family status of adult citizens will be widely used to study the processes of population reproduction. The aim and task of the population census are in complete conformance with the special features of the socialist social order. A person under socialism is not only the chief productive power of society, but he is also the solicitous master of the public wealth. Our population census is being carried out

for the good of the Soviet individual - the master and creator of all the wealth of a socialist society.

It is opportune to recall here the appeal which was made by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to all the citizens of our country on the eve of the first Soviet census of the population in 1920. "The old world of capitalist exploitation, - so stated the appeal - freedom for capitalists and the slave's yoke for the workers are disappearing. The workers themselves are becoming the master, the true master. A good master is, primarily, one who knows his property, knows his fields and forests, his factories and manufacturing plants, knows how much and where he has it. The census will give us exactly this knowledge. It will lighten our construction on the basis of a well-thought-out economic plan. All the workers, to the very last person, should assist us in obtaining this knowledge, for the master and creator of life are the workers themselves."

The ruling classes of the capitalist countries have a completely different aim concerning the population census. They need the census in order to increase further their exploitation of the working masses, in order to increase their pressures on the population. One of the main printed organs of the capitalist monopolies of the United States - the "Magazine of Wall Street" - after examining the totals of the population census conducted in April 1950 in the United States noted that the data contained in this census "give valuable information for every branch of industry in the country and will permit the astute banker, industrialist, and investment specialist to determine in which fields the greatest profits can be obtained - either now or in the future."

The population census programs in capitalist countries are subordinate to this precise predatory aim - increasing exploitation of the working masses and increasing the maximum profits of the imperialistic monopolies. The population census is widely used to smother the workers with taxes. Using the totals of the census of populations of capitalist countries, the governments of these countries fix the boundaries of election districts in such a manner that they enable the bourgeois parties to receive the greatest number

of representatives to the parliament. As is known, the data of these censuses are used by the imperialist governments to determine the military contingents required for their new wars of invasion.

Bourgeois statistics adapt the programs and measures for the organization of the population census to the needs of the ruling classes of capitalist society. Through the very structure of the census program bourgeois statistics purposely confuse the picture of the social composition of the workers, falsify data on unemployment, give an incorrect characterization of the national composition of the population, etc.

Bourgeois statistics divide the social grouping of the population chiefly into three basic groups - independent owners, hired workers and members of the family, who are of help. The number of independent owners, together with insignificant artisans and peasants, includes the greatest capitalists and landowners. The group of hired workers, along with workers and ordinary office workers, includes directors, managers and other high officials of monopolies, joint-stock corporations and other capitalist corporations and enterprises. The group enumerating the members of the family, who are of help, includes the members of the families of peasant capitalists [kurkuls], middle peasants, poor peasants, members of families of merchants and even the young members of bankers families. Therefore, each of these three groups is of a mixed class composition. In this manner the picture of the class composition of the population of capitalist countries is muddled.

Bourgeois statistics attempt in every possible way to show decreased data on the number of unemployed among the population of capitalist countries. Ordinarily, during a census of the population the category of those unemployed is determined on the basis of the status during the past week before the census, and sometimes during an even more considerable period of time. Furthermore, the number of unemployed does not include those who are partially employed, those who work an incomplete work week, those who are on strike, a huge mass of impoverished peasants, etc.

In the United States the census on the number of

unemployed is decreased also as a result of refusal to count a substantial portion of the population. During the census of the population in the United States only the permanent population is counted. This one-sided registration is carried on while large masses of unemployed are wandering around the country, a significant number of whom do not have a permanent place of residence. In this way all the unemployed who do not have a permanent residence in some particular populated center are completely dropped from the count.

Under conditions of brutal national oppression, incitement of national enmity and spreading of the racist theory of race hatred, bourgeois demographic statistics discard truly scientific methods of studying the national composition of the population. Census programs in the United States and some other capitalist countries are built on reactionary racist positions. The census in the United States substitutes the question about race for the social-historical question about nationality. During the 1950 census in the United States it was forbidden to include among the whites those persons who had even but a fraction of blood of other races. Persons with white and colored parents were ascribed to the "colored population."

In order to exaggerate the number of the population of the ruling nationality, bourgeois statistics of individual capitalist countries mechanically ascribe to this nationality all persons who were born on the territory of the given country. Thus, in accordance with the census program requirements of the population of England and Wales in April 1951, questions about nationality were given only to those persons who had been born outside the boundaries of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Therefore, all those born in Great Britain were considered to be of one nationality - the British.

The history of census taking in capitalistic countries knows many examples when with the help of intimidation and national discrimination government officials forced residents to deny their membership in national minorities and to attribute themselves to the ruling nationality. In post-Versailles aristocratic Poland, as a result of the

machinations of the Pilsudski regime, during the 1921 census in the Galicia and Kholm regions 3.8 million Ukrainians and 3.2 million Poles were counted, while according to data received after World War I, there were 6.8 million Ukrainians and 1.0 million Poles in these regions. During the 1931 census the Polish administration openly announced its aim -- to disclose the Polish countenance of the Western Ukraine. The White Pole officials terrorized the Ukrainian population, forced the Ukrainians to record in the census forms that their native language was not Ukrainian, but Polish. The census takers, recruited from among officials, chauvinistically disposed students and various Pilsudskites, recorded the Polish language instead of the Ukrainian, disregarding the testimony of those questioned. During this census all persons of mixed families were recorded as Poles.

Bourgeois statistics also use other methods to misrepresent the national composition of the capitalist countries. For example, data on religion revealed by the census are used as indicators which supposedly characterize the national composition. In other capitalist countries, the question on nationality was replaced in the census programs by a question on language, during the exact time when the ruling circles of these countries were suppressing the yearning of oppressed peoples to use their native language, were forbidding the teaching of children in the native language, and were utilizing other artificial means in order that the language of the ruling nation should enjoy wider propagation under conditions of national discrimination.

Only in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the census of the population built on truly scientific foundations and fully conforms with the interests of the entire nation and of the masses of many millions of workers. Only under socialist conditions do statistics generally, and demographic statistics particularly, correctly and truthfully illuminate the process of the development of society without embellishments.

In the USSR demographic statistics have been steadily developing during the entire Soviet period. In particular the methodological and organizational foundations of the Soviet census of the population are being steadily improved

and further developed. From the first population census in 1920 to the population census in January 1959 Soviet demographic statistics have travelled along the fruitful path of strengthening the methodological devising of census programs conforming to the concrete conditions of activity of the Soviet people in the various stages of socialist construction.

The 1959 All-Union census of the population will furnish exceptionally worthwhile data for all branches of the national economy, economics, and culture of our country. It will also be of considerable value as an important source for ethnographic research.

As is known, the census lists which are compiled during the All-Union population census provide data on the ethnic composition, settling, culture, education, and occupation of the population. In addition, ethnographic science will receive these data from the entire territory of the Soviet Union as of 15 January 1959.

The 1959 All-Union census of the population will furnish ethnographic science with authentic, documented data on the ethnic composition of the population of our Fatherland which will promote a still better realization of Lenin's national policy. All the censuses of contemporary capitalist countries, as well as the first general census of the population of tsarist Russian in 1897, have not given and do not give accurate data on the ethnic composition of the population.

Thus, the 1897 census in tsarist Russia furnished data on the number and geographic distribution of the population merely on the basis of the specification of their native language which, naturally, under the conditions of political, economic, and national oppression distorted the actual picture of the ethnic composition of the peoples. The very question of nationality was simply not included in the census program. It is completely comprehensible that the oppressed peoples were obliged to use the language of the ruling nation, to teach their children this language, and to indicate this language as their native language during the census. As a result of this it is useless even to speak of a true picture of the ethnic composition of the

population in such territories as the former Lyublin, Seglets, Kursk, Voronezh, and other guberniyas where the data on the native language as given on the census differed glaringly with other indices of ethnic membership.

Purposeful confusion was especially evident in the matter on the ethnic affiliation of the Ukrainian population of Galicia, Bukovina and the Carpathian Ukraine. The government of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and later the bourgeois governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, carried on this confusion for many long years concerning this socially and nationally oppressed people. This was done with the aim of inciting national enmity between the Slavic peoples - Ukrainians and Poles, Serbs and Croations, as well as with the aim of considerably lowering the indices of enumeration of the populations of the oppressed peoples in favor of the ruling nation. Hence, in the Austro-Hungarian censuses of 1890, 1900, and 1910¹, for example, the question on ethnic composition was replaced by a question on the language of conversation. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact number of Ukrainians in the country from these census, because they were listed under the "Polish" language column as well as under the "Rus'ka" language column (The Russians were also listed under the latter column).

As to the number of Ukrainians in the Carpathian Ukraine, the bourgeois statistics of Czechoslovakia actually excluded them completely, limiting themselves very generally to the listing "Rusyny" (Great Russians, Ukrainians, Carpathorussians)². It is a known fact that during the population census in 1930 the Czech so-called Commissars who were taking the census did not recognize the Ukrainian people and categorically refused to list peasants as Ukrainians in the Mukachov, Great Berezhnyansk, Irshavs'k and

1. See "Gemeindelexikon der Reichsräte Vertretene Königreiche und Länder, Vol XII, 31 December 1900, Vienna, 1907.

2. "Statistika příručka republiky Československé," [Statistical Manual of the Republic of Czechoslovakia], IV, Prague, 1932.

Khust districts. In some places the gendarmes even attacked those who called themselves Ukrainians.

In Bukovina and Bessarabia, the Rumanian census of 1930 showed there to be less Ukrainians than did even the 1897 census of tsarist Russia. In aristocratic Poland the 1921 census reduced the number of Ukrainians by several million persons in comparison with the pre-war period. Relevantly, it should be noted that the second census in Poland in 1931 was conducted in Eastern Galicia and Volyn' exclusively by Polish personnel of the ruling classes who terrorized the Ukrainian population, forced them to reject their native language, and listed everyone in mixed families as Poles.

Contemporary censuses in capitalist countries as a rule ignore specifying the ethnic composition of the population, since the bourgeoisie in these countries propagate the national-race superiority of the ruling peoples. This is done very slyly and camouflaged completely. One of the most widespread methods in this respect is the substitution of the question on national membership by a question on race, color of skin, language, religion, and citizenship. During the 1950 census in the United States, for example, the question on nationality was formulated in the following manner: "Race: white Negro, American, Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Phillipino, and others."³ In addition, the census taker himself independently indicated the race according to the color of the skin.

To gratify the ruling exploiting classes, bourgeois statistics often completely refused to study the ethnic composition of the population. The study of the ethnic composition of the population of our socialist country is completely different from and contrary to bourgeois statistics. The Great October Socialistic Revolution, in liquidating the exploiting classes, assured the educating of the Soviet people in the spirit of the proletarian internationalisms, friendship, and brotherhood of peoples. At the same

3. "Poslevoyennyye perepisi naseleniya. Sbornik Statey" [Postwar Census of the Population. Collected Statistics], Gosstatizdat, Moscow, 1957, p. 323.

time socialism not only did not destroy national distinctions and peculiarities, as V. I. Lenin directed many times, but, on the contrary, assured the all-sided development and flowering of the economy and culture of all peoples and nationalities. Soviet population censuses contain an exceptional wealth of information which characterizes the settlement of the various peoples of our country, their modes of life, culture, and language.

The Communist Party and V. I. Lenin personally from the very first years of the Soviet regime paid exceptional attention in the enumeration of the population to the indication of its ethnic composition. Yet back in 1917 a "Permanent Commission for the Study of the Ethnic Composition of the Population of Russia and Adjacent Countries" was created at the Russian Academy of Sciences for the purpose of an accurate scientific study of the ethnic composition of the population. With the participation of this commission programs for population census-taking were formulated in which it was especially noted that nationality should not be replaced by religion, citizenship or with indication of residence in the territory of any particular republic.

Such principles concerning the study of the ethnic composition of the population were inserted into the program of the very first Soviet census of the population which took place in 1920 under civil war conditions and in which V. I. Lenin took personal interest. Unfortunately, the census could not encompass many regions of the Ukraine which had been seized by the occupants and White Guardists; Volyn' Guberniya in particular was completely unrecorded, and the Soviet ethnographers did not have the opportunity to use the data of this census to the maximum extent. However, the Second All-Union Census of the Population of 1926 covered the territory of our entire country and furnished an exceptional wealth of information upon the ethnic composition of the population; it especially furnished material for determining the enumeration and pictured the settlement of Ukrainians in the USSR.

The data of the All-Union Census of 1926 vividly illustrated the superiority of the Soviet methodology of determining the ethnic composition of the population. This

census demonstrated true democracy in determining the ethnic composition of the Soviet people on the basis of self-determination according to nationality and native tongue. Ethnographic science received extremely valuable data, especially with regard to the inclusion in the determination of ethnic composition on the basis of these two indications, which are not similar, especially in cities. For example, in Chernigov only 3,647 Russians were enumerated according to nationality, while 15,130 persons spoke the Russian language, at the same time that of 20,085 Ukrainians, only 10,681 persons spoke the Ukrainian language⁴.

The ethnographers obtained valuable material from the 1926 census with reference to housing and living conditions. Thus, in "Information on Possessions" of the 1926 census a rather complete description is given of the average size of dwellings and a breakdown of them according to the material composition of the walls. Among other information are included data on existing buildings, the number of apartments and rooms in the buildings, the number of walls, stories, the existence of water pipes in the buildings, electricity, sewage systems, etc.

The materials of the 1926 census furnished ethnographers with valuable documentary material on the character of the development of living conditions⁵. Hence, comparing the materials of the urban census of the population in 1923 with the census of 1926, it can be determined that during

4. "Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926, Vol. XI. Ukrainskaya Sovetskaya Sotsiyalisticheskaya Respublika. Itogi po respublike. Polesskiy Podrayon" [All-Union Population Census of 1926, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Totals by Republic. Polesskiy Sub-rayon], Published by the Central Statistical Administration USSR, Moscow, 1929, p. 162.

5. "Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 17 dekabrya 1926. Kratkiye Svodki. Vypusk I. Zhilishchnoye stroitel'stvo v gorodskikh poselennyakh RSFSR, Ukrainskoy SSR i Belorusskoy SSR" [All-Union Population Census 17 December 1926. Short Resume. Edition I. Housing Construction in Urban Settlements of the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Belorussian SSR], Moscow, 1927.

the period between these years private construction developed more rapidly in the Ukraine and that only in such industrial areas as the Stalinskiy, Artemivskiy and Luganskiy okrugs of the Donetsk Guberniya did state-cooperative building predominate, which here consisted of more than 50 percent of the total construction. This predominance is explained by the rapid elevation of these important economic regions of the country during the Soviet regime. The question of class composition, occupation and culture of the population is quite fully covered in the 1926 census.

The results of the 1939 All-Union population census demonstrated the flourishing of the economy and culture of the Soviet people as achieved in our country as a result of the wise national policy of Lenin. Because of the treacherous attack of fascist Germany on the USSR, however, only the most general data of this census were published.

During the 1959 All-Union population census the matter of the correct scientific determination of ethnic composition is accorded the same extensive attention as during the previous censuses. The national membership of every citizen is indicated on the basis of his own personal self-determination - the most democratic and most exact determinant. In the event that a person being interrogated hesitates in indicating his nationality, preference is given to the nationality of the mother.

The ethnographers of the Ukrainian SSR actively participated in the preparation of the 1959 census-taking, especially in the matter of maximum accuracy in ascertaining the ethnic composition of the population. They made a proposal concerning improving the accuracy and supplementing the draft of the "Systematic Dictionary of Nationalities," especially in regard to the self-determination and resettlement of Ukrainians. The Ethnographic Department of the Institute of the Study of Art, Folklore, and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences Ukrainian SSR pointed out that the Kuban', Tarsk, and Azov Kozaks - partially Ukrainian in ancestry - do not differ ethnographically from the Ukrainians and that they have retained the Ukrainian language to a considerable degree. The Ukrainians who live in various Union republics (the southern regions of the Kurskaya,

Belgorodskaya, Voronezhskaya oblasts, some regions of the Rostovskaya, and a number of regions of Povolzha, Bashiriya, Moldaviya, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and the Far East), call themselves "Khokhly" and "Little Russians." These names were imposed by the tsarist regime for centuries. At the present time, as recent expeditions of the Academy of Sciences USSR and the Academy of Sciences Ukrainian SSR have shown, these names are used outside the boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR without contemptuous nuances.

In addition, the Ethnographic Department pointed out places in the territory of the UkSSR and outside its borders where Polishchuks, Pinchuks, and Iytyvyns reside, who in culture and customs are ethnographic groups of the Ukrainian people and speak dialects of the Ukrainian language.

A great significance of the All-Union census of 1959 lies also in the fact that for the first time in history it will determine the national composition of all the Ukrainian lands which have been united thanks to the victory of socialism.

In his speech at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade M. S. Khrushchev stated that as a result of the constant implementation of Lenin's national policy and brotherly mutual aid, the national republics which had previously been backward from an economic and cultural standpoint have created powerful modern industries, extensive mechanization of agriculture, and a broad network of educational, scientific, and cultural institutions and have trained numerous qualified cadres. The 1959 population census will corroborate all this with unsurpassed authenticity.

The materials of the 1959 All-Union census will be used by Soviet scientists, especially ethnographers, in all phases of research on the economy and mode of life of the broad popular masses and on the flourishing of welfare, science, and culture which constantly preoccupy our native Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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